

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

EUGENE VOLOKH, RUMBLE CANADA  
INC., and LOCALS TECHNOLOGY  
INC.,

: Docket #  
1:22-cv-10195-ALC

Plaintiff, :

-against- :

LETITIA JAMES, in her official  
capacity as Attorney General of  
New York,

: New York, New York

Defendant.

-----:

PROCEEDINGS BEFORE  
THE HONORABLE ANDREW L. CARTER  
UNITED STATES DISTRICT

APPEARANCES:

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FOUNDATION FOR INDIVIDUAL  
RIGHTS AND EXPRESSION  
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1           THE DEPUTY CLERK: Good afternoon. This is  
2 Tara, Judge Carter's deputy. Who just joined the  
3 call, please?

4           MR. FARBER: Good afternoon. This is Seth  
5 Farber from the Attorney General's office. With me  
6 is Kate Janofsky.

7           MS. JANOFSKY: Good afternoon.

8           THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Mr. Farber.  
9 Thank you, Ms. Janofsky.

10          And someone else is on the line?

11          MR. SAWYER: This is Rick Sawyer, also from  
12 the Attorney General's Office.

13          THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Mr. Sawyer.  
14 Is there anyone else?

15          MR. SAWYER: Thank you.

16          THE DEPUTY CLERK: Good afternoon. This is  
17 Tara, Judge Carter's deputy. Who just joined the  
18 call, please?

19          MS. GANS: Hi. This is Courtney Gans,  
20 Judge Carter's law clerk.

21          THE DEPUTY CLERK: Good afternoon,  
22 Courtney.

23          Is there any other counsel on the line  
24 whose name I did not take at this time? Thank you.

25          Good afternoon. This is Tara, Judge

1 Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call, please?

2 MR. ORTNER: Good afternoon. This is  
3 Daniel Ortner on behalf of the plaintiffs.

4 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Mr. Ortner.

5 Mr. Ortner, how do you pronounce the last  
6 name of the first plaintiff listed, please?

7 MR. ORTNER: Eugene Volokh.

8 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Volokh. Thank you, sir.  
9 Do you have cocounsel --

10 MR. ORTNER: I'm sorry, could you repeat  
11 your question? I apologize.

12 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Will you be having  
13 cocounsel joining you, Mr. Ortner?

14 MR. ORTNER: Yes, several of my colleagues  
15 are going to be joining. I can -- do you want me to  
16 give you their names or do you want to wait until  
17 they join?

18 THE DEPUTY CLERK: I'll wait until they  
19 join.

20 Good afternoon. This is Tara, Judge  
21 Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call, please.

22 THE COURT: Hi, Tara. It's Judge Carter.

23 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Hi, Judge.

24 Good afternoon. This is Tara, Judge  
25 Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call, please?

1 MR. ROSS: Yes, this is Michael Ross.  
2 Member of the public.

3 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Mr. Ross.  
4 You can just put your phone on mute.

5 MR. ROSS: Will do.

6 THE DEPUTY CLERK: This is Tara, Judge  
7 Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call, please?

8 MR. CASTILLO: Hi, Tara. This is Julio  
9 Castillo, Judge Carter's law clerk.

10 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Hi, Julio.

11 Do we have any additional counsel on the  
12 phone as of yet for the plaintiffs?

13 MR. ORTNER: I don't know who has joined.  
14 I know there's a few that -- a few that are planning  
15 to join, but I haven't heard them join yet.

16 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Okay. Thank you.

17 Hello. Good afternoon. This is Tara,  
18 Judge Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call,  
19 please?

20 MS. SHETH: This is Darpana Sheth from  
21 FIRE.

22 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Ms. Sheth.  
23 Who else just joined?

24 MR. ELLIS: Michael Ellis from Rumble  
25 Canada and Local Technology, Inc.

1 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Mr. Ellis.

2 Good afternoon. This is Tara, Judge  
3 Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call, please?

4 MR. DIAZ: This is James Diaz on behalf of  
5 plaintiffs.

6 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Mr. Diaz.

7 Mr. Ortner, is that everyone, sir?

8 MR. ORTNER: I believe that Barry Covert,  
9 who's the New York based local counsel, should be  
10 joining as well. I'm not sure if he's been on the  
11 call yet.

12 THE DEPUTY CLERK: No, he hasn't joined as  
13 of yet. I'll give him --

14 Good afternoon. This is Tara, Judge  
15 Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call, please?

16 MR. MIKULSKI: Hi. Yes, my name is Jared  
17 Mikulski. I am a litigation fellow at FIRE.

18 THE DEPUTY CLERK: You just called to  
19 listen to the argument today, sir?

20 MR. MIKULSKI: Correct.

21 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Okay. If you can just  
22 place the phone on mute.

23 MR. ORTNER: He's with plaintiffs, although  
24 he's not on the briefs but -- not admitted, but he's  
25 with us -- with FIRE.

1 THE DEPUTY CLERK: That's fine. He can  
2 just place his phone on mute. Thank you.

3 Good afternoon. This is Tara, Judge  
4 Carter's deputy. Who just joined the call, please?

5 MR. COVERT: Barry Covert.

6 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you, Mr. Covert.

7 So, counsel, this oral argument -- this  
8 telephone -- telephonic oral argument is being  
9 recorded. So I ask that each time when you address  
10 the Court, please state your name prior to speaking  
11 and when you're not addressing the Court, to please  
12 place your phone on mute. Thank you.

13 Civil cause for a telephone oral argument  
14 on the motion for preliminary injunction in case  
15 number 22-CV-10195, Volokh, et al. vs. James.

16 Counsel, please state your appearances.

17 For the plaintiff.

18 MR. ORTNER: Thank you. My name is Daniel  
19 Ortner, here on behalf of the plaintiffs, Eugene  
20 Volokh, Rumble Canada, Inc., and Locals Technology,  
21 Inc.

22 MR. COVERT: Good afternoon. This is Barry  
23 Covert. I'm also attorney for the plaintiff.

24 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Mr. Diaz, if you're  
25 speaking, we can't hear you, sir.



1 MR. DIAZ: Yes. This is James Diaz,  
2 attorney for plaintiffs.

3 THE DEPUTY CLERK: And Ms. Sheth?

4 MS. SHETH: Yes. This is Darpana Sheth,  
5 attorney for plaintiff.

6 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you.

7 And for the defendant.

8 MR. FARBER: Good afternoon. This is Seth  
9 Farber, special litigation counsel with the Office  
10 of the New York Attorney General appearing for the  
11 defendant, Leticia James in her official capacity as  
12 Attorney General.

13 With me are --

14 MS. JANOFISKY: Katherine Rhodes Janofsky,  
15 attorney for defendant.

16 MR. SAWYER: And I'm Rick Sawyer, special  
17 counsel with the Office of the Attorney General for  
18 defendant.

19 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Thank you.

20 THE COURT: Hi. Good afternoon. We're  
21 here for oral argument related to the preliminary  
22 injunction issue.

23 Here's how we'll proceed. I have some  
24 specific questions that I'll pose to the parties.  
25 And then at the end of that, I'll give each side an

1 opportunity to make any brief oral argument they  
2 would like to make, touching upon any of those  
3 issues that were not addressed in the questions, or  
4 if they want to more fully expand on that. I'll  
5 give each side seven minutes at the end of my  
6 questions. Hopefully, the questions are such that  
7 it may obviate the need for much oral argument.  
8 We'll have the plaintiffs go first for oral  
9 argument, followed by the defendants.

10 But first, let me ask my questions. First  
11 question is that there seems to be some disagreement  
12 over what the law actually does. Can both parties  
13 just briefly explain their interpretation of the new  
14 law?

15 Let me hear from plaintiffs first, and then  
16 I'll hear from defendant.

17 MR. ORTNER: Sure. Thank you, Your Honor.

18 We read the law as, at a minimum, requiring  
19 three things from plaintiffs and other social media  
20 networks. The development of a policy dealing with  
21 how they will respond to state-defined hate speech,  
22 hateful conduct as the State has defined, and the  
23 posting of that policy -- the publishing of that  
24 policy on their website in a clear and accessible  
25 location. Second, a mechanism for reporting hateful

1     conduct on the website, which would include a way to  
2     respond to that. And third, we read the law as  
3     requiring a response based on the plain reading of  
4     the text as well, that there is a response  
5     requirement that's presumed in the text of the  
6     statute. So we see at least those three  
7     requirements. And then we also point to some of the  
8     language, the title of the law, the Attorney  
9     General's remarks and reports as suggesting that  
10    there's possibly a greater expectation of even  
11    removing content with a concomitant threat of action  
12    from the Attorney General if content is not removed.

13           But at the very minimum, the three things  
14    that we believe are required is the policy, the  
15    report mechanism and the response requirements.

16           THE COURT: Okay. Let me hear from the  
17    defendants what's your view on what the law actually  
18    does?

19           MR. FARBER: Thank, Your Honor.

20           In effect, the law requires two things.  
21    The first is that it set up a mechanism for users of  
22    a site to report complaints of online hateful  
23    conduct to the operator of the website. And part of  
24    that mechanism is a mechanism to respond to reports  
25    of those complaints. We do not believe that the

1 statute actually requires a response to the  
2 complaint, although it does require that the  
3 mechanism that allows for a report does provide a  
4 mechanism for a response. And second, it does --  
5 the statute does require the posting of a policy as  
6 to how the site operator intends to respond or if it  
7 intends to respond to complaints and reports of  
8 online hateful conduct that are brought to its  
9 attention.

10 So there's some disagreement -- some  
11 disagreement -- some agreement and some disagreement  
12 on what the meaning of the statute is. But our view  
13 is the reporting mechanism and the policy are what  
14 the statute requires. Anything beyond that is not  
15 required by the statute.

16 THE COURT: Okay. So let me ask this  
17 question. It seems that there is still a  
18 disagreement as to whether a response is required  
19 and what that response must be if it is required.

20 Let me ask plaintiffs this question. Would  
21 it be within the purview of the law for the  
22 plaintiffs to state on their website that you have  
23 this mechanism to complain? If you have a  
24 complaint, you should email this address, but you  
25 should understand that we take the First Amendment

1 seriously, and we may or may not respond to your  
2 request. That's one option. Another option --  
3 that's option one.

4 Option two could be an automated response  
5 that says, yes, we've received your complaint, and  
6 then either we are going to consider it or we won't  
7 consider it. If you don't hear back from us in a  
8 certain number of days, understand we're not going  
9 to do anything about it. Or it could simply be an  
10 automated response that says, we received your  
11 complaint, period.

12 It doesn't seem to me that there is a  
13 necessity that any response, if one is required,  
14 must be specifically tailored to the user's  
15 complaint. But let me hear from plaintiffs on that  
16 in terms of those options.

17 MR. ORTNER: Sure. So first of all, the  
18 first option that you mentioned, the we may or may  
19 not respond, I think that opposing counsel in their  
20 opposition brief suggests that all you could say is  
21 we don't respond to any complaints. That's like --  
22 a general policy like that. I don't think that  
23 would be enough as far as the hate-speech policy  
24 goes because if you look at the language of the  
25 statute, it requires a clear -- clear policy that

1 states how they will respond and address their  
2 reports of incidents of hateful conduct on their  
3 platform. So I think at the very least it requires  
4 specific statement from the site of how they will  
5 respond to the speech that the State has identified  
6 in the statute as hateful conduct. So just like a  
7 very general statement, like we may or may not  
8 respond to any reports, feel free to submit them.  
9 We don't read the stat- -- sufficient because of  
10 that language that they have to have a clear policy  
11 about how they will respond specifically to  
12 incidents of hateful conduct. And I think because  
13 of the we'll respond language in section -- in  
14 subsection 3, sites are going to read that --  
15 reasonably read that as requiring an affirmative  
16 substantive response to posts. And that's going to  
17 put pressure on them to do so. Put a burden on them  
18 that will pressure them to want to take the content  
19 down in the first place so they don't have such an  
20 obligation. And I would just point the Court to the  
21 fact that we had to bring a lawsuit to have the  
22 Attorney General clarify and say no response is  
23 required. That puts -- chills First Amendment  
24 activity for websites that are going to read the  
25 law. I think reasonably so, does it require a

1 response, as it says. Will -- you know, the policy  
2 has to say how they will respond and address. And  
3 then in Subsection 5 -- sorry, Subsection 4, where  
4 it says what they could be held liable for, it  
5 mentions receiving -- receive a response on such  
6 report. And so I think a reasonable reading for a  
7 website would be we have to respond, we have to have  
8 every individual receive a response on the report  
9 and if we don't, we're going to be investigated and  
10 fined by the Attorney General. That chills First  
11 Amendment protected activity on these websites.

12 THE COURT: Let me ask plaintiff this.  
13 Why -- if the policy that the social media platform  
14 adopts says that this is how we will respond, we  
15 will ignore it. This is how we will address it, we  
16 will ignore it. Doesn't that comply with the law?

17 MR. ORTNER: I think that the law is  
18 ambiguous and open-ended enough to -- that a  
19 plaintiff -- a website would reasonably believe that  
20 an obligation, especially if you look at some of the  
21 language we cite in our brief from the Attorney  
22 General and from the legislative history. For  
23 instance, the governor, you know -- when the press  
24 conference signing the law said that the Attorney  
25 General will be championing this cause of every

1 power her office can bring in at her disposal. The  
2 floor debate emphasized that we have an active  
3 Attorney General. I think -- that the language  
4 pointing to that the Attorney General is going to --  
5 actively be applying this to the fullest power that  
6 she's been given. And so in light of that, this law  
7 has a -- those languages. If it is an ambiguity, we  
8 think it's the best reading. But even if it's  
9 ambiguous, it chills protected activity. It  
10 pressures these sites to take down this content to  
11 avoid investigation, to avoid stepping -- writing  
12 afoul of what the Attorney General is going to do.

13 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. Let me ask  
14 this question to both parties. We'll start with  
15 defendants first.

16 Can you address the title of the law?  
17 Because the title indicates that the law will  
18 prohibit hateful conduct, but that doesn't seem to  
19 comport with the text of the actual law. Can you  
20 address that, defense counsel? And then I'll give  
21 plaintiffs' counsel an opportunity to address that.

22 MR. FARBER: Sure.

23 No, Your Honor is absolutely right on that.  
24 The title of 394-CCC is Social Media Networks  
25 Hateful Conduct Prohibited. I cannot speak to why



1 it was titled that. I can tell you that the text of  
2 the operative statute itself deals with the two  
3 points I made, the reporting mechanism and the  
4 policy.

5 So in this case, this is a pretty  
6 unambiguous statute as to what it requires as far as  
7 a reporting policy and a reporting policy and the  
8 reporting mechanism. So in that sense, we cited  
9 some cases for the proposition that under these  
10 circumstances, the title just does not preempt or  
11 override what the plain text of the statute does.  
12 So, as I said, I can't speak to why it's called  
13 that, but no hateful conduct as described in this  
14 statute is actually prohibited by the statute.  
15 Thank you.

16 THE COURT: Okay. Let me hear from  
17 plaintiffs' counsel.

18 MR. ORTNER: Sure. Your Honor, with the  
19 First Amendment, there's a real fear of a chilling  
20 effect on First Amendment activity. The First  
21 Amendment is there to protect against that chill.  
22 And so the title is another piece of that chilling  
23 effect that this law has on plaintiffs and other  
24 social media networks. So, you know, the  
25 combination, again, of the title, the language in

1 the Attorney General's report, the finding  
2 statements, the floor debates, all very clearly  
3 suggest that there's more being demanded than simply  
4 stating a policy of we won't do anything about  
5 speech.

6 I really want to point Your Honor to the  
7 Bentham Books case that we discuss in our opening  
8 brief. This combination of the kind of carrot and  
9 stick, the you do need to do this, and if you don't,  
10 we're going to hammer down on you and take action  
11 against you and investigate you and pass additional  
12 policies that are going to regulate you further.  
13 That violates the First Amendment in and of itself.  
14 That combination, that's what's really happening in  
15 this case with the law and the title. And all these  
16 pieces together are putting pressure on plaintiffs  
17 and others and chilling their First Amendment  
18 activity. And so that, at the very least, title  
19 plays that role of, again, hitting -- you know,  
20 suggesting the plaintiffs that they have to act or  
21 there's going to be consequences for the failure to  
22 act.

23 THE COURT: Okay. Let me ask defense  
24 counsel this question. Can you articulate why, in  
25 your view, this law does not regulate speech? You

1 indicate that you think this regulates conduct but  
2 not speech. Can you elucidate that a little bit  
3 more?

4 MR. FARBER: Yes, Your Honor.

5 It does not require the removal, the  
6 moderation, indeed the regulation of any speech  
7 that's on any of the plaintiffs' websites, or indeed  
8 on anyone's website. What it does is it affords a  
9 channel that in some cases may already exist for  
10 those entities that already post a means to  
11 facilitate complaints being brought to their  
12 attention. It mandates that. In this case, it  
13 mandates a specific category of complaints. But the  
14 statute does not limit what the platform for  
15 complaints shall be limited to.

16 Similarly, it does require the posting of a  
17 policy which may well constitute speech of a kind,  
18 but it's commercial speech. The policy would  
19 presumably be truthful. It would presumably be the  
20 website's factual policy as to how they intend to  
21 deal with these responses. And that's it. We are  
22 not regulating speech. The definition of hateful  
23 conduct is simply a guide to users who may want to  
24 bring complaints of what they perceive as hateful  
25 conduct to the website operator. The website

1 operator may have a completely different definition  
2 of hateful conduct, or the website operator may not  
3 believe that there is such a thing as online hateful  
4 conduct, and they can either respond or not respond  
5 as they see fit, and they are welcome to have that  
6 as their policy, or indeed any policy they want. As  
7 we showed in our brief, the legislative history was  
8 quite consistent with broad discretion on the part  
9 of the website operators as to how or if they want  
10 to respond to these complaints. So Your Honor was  
11 absolutely right in suggesting that the possibility  
12 of no response complies with this law.

13 Thank you.

14 THE COURT: But let me ask defense counsel  
15 this follow up.

16 MR. FARBER: Sure.

17 THE COURT: The law doesn't -- it would be  
18 one thing if this was a law that said social media  
19 platforms must have a policy for users to complain  
20 about content, period. But this law targets a  
21 certain category of speech, hate speech, and it  
22 targets a particular category of speech and a  
23 particular viewpoint in terms of those people who  
24 the speech is pointed at. How does that change the  
25 consideration and how does that not then burden

1 speech?

2 It'd be one thing if this was a very  
3 neutral policy that simply said you must have a  
4 policy -- you must have a methodology for users to  
5 complain about content, but it specifies a certain  
6 type of speech. Would you agree that the hate  
7 speech is, in fact, speech? And if so, how should I  
8 analyze that?

9 MR. FARBER: Well, first of all, Your  
10 Honor, we do take issue with the term hate speech,  
11 which is not at all found within the statute,  
12 notwithstanding that that's plaintiffs'  
13 characterization. The statute speaks to hateful  
14 conduct. Our reading on this is that the complaint  
15 mechanism sets a floor. At a minimum, the website  
16 is obliged to take complaints of hateful conduct.  
17 If the website wants to take all manner of  
18 complaints through the same facility, as long as  
19 hateful conduct is permitted to be conveyed to them,  
20 we believe the statute is complied with.

21 So in that sense, Your Honor, it's actually  
22 much closer to the hypothetical you suggested than  
23 it is to plaintiffs' version on this. Nonetheless,  
24 the legislature believed it was important in this  
25 era of increasing violent incidents, some of which

1 are linked to the web, to facilitate this kind of  
2 complaint and communication mechanism.

3 Thank you.

4 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

5 But I guess the concern I have is that in  
6 the statute, the definition of hateful conduct means  
7 the use of a social media network to vilify,  
8 humiliate, or incite violence against a group or  
9 class of persons on the basis of race, color,  
10 religion, ethnicity, national origin, disability,  
11 sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender  
12 expression. Again, it's only specifying this  
13 "conduct" as it relates to certain groups of people.  
14 And it's one thing if this is prohibiting the use of  
15 a social media network to incite violence. If we're  
16 talking about true threat, those things are not  
17 protected by the First Amendment. But to humiliate  
18 or vilify a group of people seems to me to be  
19 something that's protected by the First Amendment.

20 Let me hear from defendants on that.

21 MR. FARBER: Sure. We are not disagreeing  
22 that some humiliating speech, to the extent it  
23 doesn't involve inciting a violence or, you know,  
24 arguably the fighting words or obscenity the  
25 standards that have been deemed not to be protected

1 speech, may well constitute protected speech. The  
2 point of this statute is that there's no consequence  
3 to the website. They do not have to take it down.  
4 The State is not mandating you must take it down,  
5 you must put a warning label on it, you must  
6 discipline the poster, or you must do anything.  
7 This is a complaint mechanism. The statute provides  
8 conduct that it wants to create a channel for site  
9 users to bring it to the attention of the site  
10 operator.

11 In that sense, Subsection A of the statute  
12 is a guide for users in forming their reports and  
13 complaints to the site. And arguably, it's a guide  
14 to those website operators that want to respond to  
15 it, if that is their policy. So, yes, Your Honor,  
16 arguably the subject matter might be protected  
17 speech, but this statute neither compels nor  
18 prohibits protected speech.

19 Thank you.

20 THE COURT: All right. And let me ask  
21 defense counsel this question, because it seemed to  
22 me that you were suggesting that these social media  
23 platforms could come up with their own definition of  
24 hateful conduct. It seems to me that the way this  
25 statute is written is it's more than just a guide

1 and that the statute sets the floor. Perhaps a  
2 website could go beyond that under this statute.  
3 But it says "hateful conduct means," and then it  
4 goes through the definition. And then Section 2  
5 says, "A social media network that conducts business  
6 in the state shall provide and maintain a clear and  
7 easily accessible mechanism for individual users to  
8 report incidents of hateful conduct."

9 It seems to me that there's not discretion,  
10 the way the law is written for users -- or for the  
11 social media platforms to have a definition of  
12 hateful conduct that goes below the floor set by the  
13 statute.

14 Can defendants weigh in on that?

15 MR. FARBER: Yes, Your Honor.

16 The hateful conduct refers to the  
17 complaints. There's no question that the website  
18 operators are obliged to take complaints from users  
19 concerning hateful conduct. At the end of the day,  
20 however, those complaints are in the user's view.  
21 The user may well be very adept at identifying  
22 things tied to the statute's definition of hateful  
23 conduct or not. The user may have a much broader or  
24 a much narrower definition of hateful conduct. What  
25 this statute requires of these websites, however, is



1       that it set up the mechanism. It's largely a  
2       procedural statute, it sets up the mechanism, the  
3       complaints and reports are reported to the website,  
4       the website responds to them based on its policy,  
5       which is entirely within its discretion. So while  
6       hateful conduct may inform the reports, as far as  
7       what the website operator may actually be liable for  
8       under this statute, it does not impact that. What  
9       they are liable for is if they don't set up the  
10      reporting mechanism again.

11             As far as the reporting mechanism, that  
12      just sets the minimum of the complaints that they  
13      have to receive. That's all they have to do. They  
14      have to receive them. As Your Honor indicated,  
15      there does not have to be a response. In fact, it's  
16      not -- they don't even have to read them if they  
17      don't want to. But they do have to receive them.  
18      That is true. At a minimum, they have to set up a  
19      facility to receive reports of complaints of hateful  
20      conduct.

21             Thank you.

22             THE COURT: Okay. And again, for  
23      defendants, don't the social media platforms have an  
24      editorial right to keep information off of their  
25      websites, allow certain information, and to make

1 decisions as to what sort of community they want to  
2 create online?

3 And if so, does this law that requires a  
4 mechanism for only one type of hateful  
5 conduct/speech infringe upon those editorial  
6 decisions because the websites are not required to  
7 set up a reporting mechanism for people who want to  
8 make hateful comments about movie directors or  
9 something like that?

10 Let me hear from defendants on that.

11 MR. FARBER: Yes, Your Honor.

12 Again, the reporting mechanism is for the  
13 minimum. Again, if the site wants to set up a  
14 broader mechanism of complaints, that's within their  
15 discretion. If they would rather not go on record  
16 as to how they intend to respond to complaints,  
17 reports of online hateful conduct, under the  
18 statute -- they can comply with the statute with a  
19 policy that says we have no policy. As long as they  
20 post that, they can respond with we will address  
21 each report on a case-by-case basis and do not say  
22 how we will respond in advance. They have numerous  
23 options to do that.

24 But with respect to receiving the  
25 complaints, this does not impact their editorial

1 freedom. This sets up a complaint mechanism that  
2 does not require them to take a position on hateful  
3 conduct. It doesn't actually require them to take a  
4 position on anything other than that they've set up  
5 the mechanism.

6 THE COURT: Okay. Let me hear from  
7 plaintiffs on these issues.

8 MR. ORTNER: Sure. I'll start just briefly  
9 on the last thing that opposing counsel said that  
10 saying you have no policy would suffice. I would  
11 just -- I would say, Your Honor, first of all, I  
12 already suggested that we don't read that as  
13 compatible with the law's requirement that the  
14 policy, has to how they will deal with this type of  
15 speech on their platform. But really, if that's the  
16 case, it's hard to see how the law furthers the  
17 government's interest at all if the policy can just  
18 state, we have no policy. So I think that really  
19 undermines their ability to justify this under any  
20 level of scrutiny, ultimately, that the Court  
21 applies to this.

22 So going back to the beginning of your  
23 questions, Your Honor, the first question is, is  
24 this speech versus conduct? I think in this case,  
25 there is no -- they have not -- counsel has not

1 pointed to any conduct here. These are websites  
2 that are publishing speech. Everything on there is  
3 speech. The user content is speech. Everything  
4 that -- on The Volokh Conspiracy has news posts  
5 about legal current events. There's nothing there  
6 other than pure protected speech on those websites.  
7 So it's -- to say it's conduct is, I think,  
8 disingenuous. Opposing counsel also in their brief,  
9 uses disinformation to describe this. They're using  
10 other -- trying to find labels to label this other  
11 than what it really is, which is fully protected  
12 speech.

13 I point, Your Honor, to our briefing, the  
14 opening brief, where we have -- and the complaint.  
15 We have hypotheticals that this law would apply to a  
16 variety of types of speech; John Oliver comedy  
17 sketch, news analysis of a tweet by The Onion, an  
18 analysis of an art gallery opening which has  
19 something to say about patriarchy and sex and gender  
20 issues. All of that is covered by this law. So it  
21 applies very broadly to a wide range of speech.

22 I would say, Your Honor, that this law is  
23 clearly focused on speech. And a hypothetical that  
24 might be useful for that is to imagine a law that  
25 said a website had to have a policy dealing with

1 conservative speech or liberal speech or  
2 anti-American speech or pro-American speech. That  
3 would clearly be targeting speech, and it would be  
4 unconstitutional. And that's the same thing that's  
5 happening here with hateful conduct, that it's  
6 targeting this subset of speech. And I think Your  
7 Honor pointed out the language of vilify and  
8 humiliate, that it goes to all the -- it's a very  
9 subjective category of expression. Everything is in  
10 the eye of the beholder what vilifies or humiliates.  
11 And it goes to core protected speech like parody and  
12 satire that's been part of our constitutional  
13 tradition from the founding. So it sweeps up a lot  
14 of protected speech there. The plaintiffs here are  
15 publishers of speech of others, similar to what  
16 newspapers do when they compile op-eds by outside  
17 writers and letters to the editor and publish them  
18 in a newspaper. So the contrast between the case  
19 that opposing counsel uses, the Restaurant Law  
20 Center case they use in their brief, is really  
21 stark. It's very different than a restaurant  
22 serving food. These are websites functioning as  
23 publishers of speech.

24 And then going to the burden on the  
25 website, I think opposing counsel suggested that

1     this is just a guide and it doesn't do anything  
2     really that they don't have to do much of -- that  
3     much of anything. That's not compatible with what  
4     the statute actually says. But also they suggest  
5     that you need to be banning speech or outlawing  
6     speech to violate the First Amendment. And that's  
7     not the case. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held  
8     that burdens are enough. I point, Your Honor, to  
9     the Riley case that we cite in our reply brief.  
10    That case -- all that the solicitors in that case  
11    had to do was as part of their phone call,  
12    solicitation call, mention the percentage of money  
13    that they're generating that they're going to take  
14    from the money that they raise in proceeds from the  
15    call. And that was a minor burden of just having to  
16    mention, disclose the fact on a phone call. And the  
17    Supreme Court said that that burden, that changed  
18    the nature of their conversation. It undermined and  
19    diluted their message ultimately. And therefore,  
20    even though it was a relatively minor burden, still  
21    violated the First Amendment.

22           And then we also cite two cases involving  
23    the requirement to respond -- to either appear like  
24    you're endorsing the message of the government or  
25    respond to it. The Pacific Gas & Electric case and

1 the Miami Herald v. Tornillo case that we cite in  
2 our reply brief, the Supreme Court said the  
3 obligation to either to appear to agree with a  
4 viewpoint or to respond, it compels speech because  
5 it takes away that -- this is from the Court -- the  
6 choice of what not to say. And that's really what's  
7 at stake here is, the choice not to respond, not to  
8 have to either endorse -- appear to endorse the  
9 State's message that this type of speech is unique,  
10 is deserving of being taken down, or to have to  
11 respond affirmatively. And so it takes away their  
12 choice not to speak. It burdens expression. And I  
13 think Your Honor is right. The other question they  
14 have an editorial right to keep information off the  
15 website at a minimum, this burdens that by requiring  
16 them to say what they're going to say, takes away  
17 their ability to just have no policy or have  
18 discretion in that regard. So it at a minimum,  
19 imposes a First Amendment burden on plaintiffs.

20 THE COURT: Okay. And plaintiffs, let me  
21 ask you this question. Hypothetically if there was  
22 a law that said that social media platforms needed  
23 to have a mechanism for users to complain about  
24 content, period, without specifying any particular  
25 type of content, would that violate the First

1 Amendment?

2 MR. ORTNER: I think it would still impose  
3 a burden on the First Amendment. And then you'd  
4 have to analyze that under the standard of view,  
5 just to look at the evidence that the opposing  
6 counsel would have for a compelling interest. But  
7 the big difference there is it would be content  
8 neutral and viewpoint neutral. It would be you just  
9 have to have a policy -- or you just have to have a  
10 mechanism, it doesn't matter for what kind of  
11 speech.

12 What's really at stake here is that -- Your  
13 Honor mentioned this is content based and viewpoint  
14 based. So let's say that a website wanted to have  
15 either a policy that just said, we will only accept  
16 complaints about conduct that, let's say, incites  
17 violence or is a true threat, that would not suffice  
18 under New York's law. You have to include the  
19 category, all the category, the whole category of  
20 speech that New York is pointing to, including  
21 vilifying and humiliating speech. And so that's  
22 what makes this law particularly egregious, is that  
23 it requires them to -- it required -- it includes  
24 that subset of speech in what they're including in  
25 their policy and in what reports they're going to



1 take, what complaints they're going to take. And  
2 then we also believe -- argued that they have an  
3 affirmative duty to respond. Also, again, defined  
4 based on viewpoint. If someone complains about  
5 something that's not subject to the law, there's no  
6 obligation. So the obligation is based on, again,  
7 the viewpoint and the content of the speech. And  
8 that's what really makes this law particularly  
9 egregious. And clearly, in the realm of strict  
10 scrutiny, which defendants do not -- defendant does  
11 not argue that the law satisfies strict scrutiny in  
12 their briefing and that because it's a viewpoint  
13 based, it falls under that category, under that  
14 standard.

15 THE COURT: Plaintiffs, let me ask you this  
16 hypothetically. If New York enacted a law that  
17 required social media companies to provide a  
18 mechanism for its users to complain about a data  
19 privacy breach, would that also run afoul of the  
20 First Amendment?

21 MR. ORTNER: Sorry, Your Honor. I'm  
22 thinking through that. I think the -- you know,  
23 data privacy breach -- complaining about that, a  
24 data privacy breach, is not complaining about a  
25 particular content or viewpoint of speech. And so

1       that puts us in a different category than this law,  
2       which requires the ability to complain about speech  
3       on the website. The data privacy breach is an  
4       action that has happened to a user. So there's  
5       still the element of requiring them to set up a  
6       mechanism which has an element of speech to it. But  
7       I think it's substantially different because you're  
8       not allowing that -- requiring them to be able to  
9       complain about the speech on the website. It's  
10      unrelated to speech, ultimately, the fact that there  
11      was a data privacy bridge on the website. And so  
12      that would put it out of the realm of these First  
13      Amendment cases that we're talking about, out of the  
14      realm of scrutiny, and it would be likely -- much  
15      more likely to survive scrutiny under a lesser  
16      standard.

17               THE COURT: Okay. And let me ask  
18      plaintiffs this question. Defendant hasn't  
19      specifically addressed standing, but does this law  
20      apply to all of the plaintiffs? In particular,  
21      Plaintiff Eugene Volokh operates a legal blog. Does  
22      that constitute a social media network under this  
23      law?

24               MR. ORTNER: It does, Your Honor, under the  
25      definition that the law uses. New York has used an

1       incredibly broad definition. It really covers any  
2       website that makes a profit in the State of New York  
3       and has comments or some ability to share content  
4       because it says service providers, which operate  
5       platforms designed to enable users to share content  
6       with other users or to make such content available  
7       to the public.

8               And there were ways that the law could have  
9       been drafted more narrowly. Earlier versions of  
10      laws that legislators in New York attempted or  
11      considered were drafted to exclude websites like  
12      Vlokh -- like The Vlokh Conspiracy. We talked  
13      about that in our opening brief. There was language  
14      readily available to the State of New York to narrow  
15      the law, but they chose very broad language. And  
16      then the floor speech that we point to, also in our  
17      opening brief, the lawmakers there were -- one of  
18      the chief sponsors of the bill, Congresswoman Fahey,  
19      was specifically asked about who would the law apply  
20      to and specifically said it would apply to anyone  
21      that has a presence in the State of New York that  
22      operates a website. Essentially, very, very broad  
23      interpretation. Finding her exact language -- and I  
24      apologize, Your Honor. But the language there  
25      specifically was broad and open-ended in who it

1 applied to.

2 And then I would also then finally point to  
3 the fact that opposing counsel does not contest the  
4 fact that we assert that it applies to  
5 Eugene Volokh, and they don't respond to that. And  
6 then I would say it finally clearly applies to  
7 Rumble and to Locals. And Rumble is even mentioned  
8 in the AG's report, which strongly suggests that  
9 Rumble is on their radar and the law would be  
10 applied to them -- to Rumble.

11 THE COURT: Defense counsel, can you  
12 explain why you believe that rational basis is the  
13 appropriate standard of review as opposed to strict  
14 scrutiny?

15 MR. FARBER: Yes, Your Honor.

16 We are not prohibiting speech. We are not  
17 compelling non-commercial speech. In order for the  
18 Court to grant the injunction requested, it would  
19 have to find that GBL394-CCC is a content based  
20 regulation that compels non-commercial speech. And  
21 it is not. Speech is not compelled here. A  
22 mechanism for complaints, which, of course, must  
23 include what users believe is online hateful conduct  
24 is provided for. There is no requirement that that  
25 be responded to. There is no requirement as to what

1 policy the given websites must have in response to  
2 it. We are not compelling viewpoint. We are not  
3 compelling any message.

4 Frankly, counsel alluded to the contents of  
5 his client's websites, which we do not dispute could  
6 well be largely, or perhaps even entirely protected  
7 speech, certainly to the extent it is the speech of  
8 third parties. And that is why this statute does  
9 not regulate it. We do not require any particular  
10 moderation policies. We do not require any  
11 sanctions for any kind of speech, including removal,  
12 highlighting, flagging, or anything of the kind.  
13 This is a very specific statute. It requires the  
14 reporting mechanism. As Your Honor noted, it could  
15 have required all complaints, in which case counsel  
16 for plaintiff responded that he would regard that as  
17 unconstitutional. With regard to Your Honor's  
18 question of a data breach, that's a number of  
19 possible implications of that. One possible data  
20 breach could be that one user posts data of another  
21 user online, in which case how that would be  
22 addressed would arguably be part of a complaint  
23 mechanism.

24 At this point, we believe that the  
25 complaint mechanism, as we set it up, does not

1 regulate protected speech and therefore is not  
2 subject to strict scrutiny. In fact, it is rational  
3 basis. The State has a strong interest in that  
4 users of websites are well informed as to what those  
5 websites policies are and that they have an ability  
6 to complain to them. And similarly with the policy  
7 of the website posting, it is rationally related to  
8 advancing that policy.

9 Thank you, Your Honor.

10 THE COURT: Let me just follow up then with  
11 defense counsel.

12 MR. FARBER: Sure.

13 THE COURT: Tell me more about why you  
14 think that there is a rational basis here and what  
15 is the -- because the briefing seems to indicate  
16 that you take the position that somehow this is  
17 related to incidents like the shooting in Buffalo.  
18 Is that no longer your position?

19 Can you tell me -- especially since, as you  
20 indicated, it seems that many social media users are  
21 quite knowledgeable, and it seems that certain  
22 social media platforms, I think folks kind of know  
23 which ones tolerate all sorts of speech as opposed  
24 to others, and maybe that's why they go to certain  
25 social media platforms.

1           But can you just tell me more about that,  
2 defense counsel?

3           MR. FARBER: Certainly, Your Honor.

4           To the extent that we are in an unfortunate  
5 era of increasing acts of violence and that  
6 oftentimes those acts of violence are, if not  
7 foreshadowed, at least indicated online, the ability  
8 of users of social media networks to bring such  
9 incidents to the attention of the web operator is a  
10 reasonable response to the unfortunate increase in  
11 those kinds of events. Second, this statute is  
12 advancing the cause of more informed consumers.  
13 It's true that certain websites develop certain  
14 reputations over time, but not all. It's not  
15 readily apparent to consumers. This will make it  
16 more readily apparent at the outset. So both of  
17 those are important State concerns, and both of them  
18 are addressed by the statute.

19           To go back to the case of the Buffalo  
20 shooting and to compare and contrast it to another  
21 famous shooting in New Zealand. In the Buffalo  
22 situation, the livestream on a platform called  
23 Twitch was promptly brought to the operator's  
24 attention by various users of social media, and they  
25 managed to take that livestream down, I understand,

1 in less than three minutes. By contrast, the  
2 horrible mass shooting incident in New Zealand, I  
3 believe was on a Facebook platform there, that  
4 incident lasted well over nine minutes. There were  
5 no complaints, as we understand it, made to the  
6 operator, or at least none were facilitated, and the  
7 operator was not aware of those events and did not  
8 manage to take it down.

9 So in this case, the difference is Twitch  
10 had set up a means of users making complaints and it  
11 chose to take action. For purposes of this  
12 argument, I'm not suggesting that it was required to  
13 take action, but it did take action and providing it  
14 with the information to do so helped it to achieve  
15 its goal in that case. In any event, what we are  
16 suggesting by the statute is that creating this  
17 facility does not impact anyone's speech. It does  
18 not require that any speech at all, even what some  
19 people might regard as hate speech, be taken down or  
20 sanctioned in any way. On the other hand,  
21 complaints that might very well be very important to  
22 the operator are brought to the operator's  
23 attention.

24 So we would respectfully submit that the  
25 statute easily meets rational basis. And I note



1       that in the reply papers, the plaintiff did not  
2       challenge that there was no rational basis for the  
3       statute. I should add that in the Restaurant  
4       context, similarly, the information we require with  
5       regard to policy is factual in nature, analogous to  
6       the Restaurant case we cite with calorie count. It  
7       may be information that the user doesn't want its  
8       customers to have, but it is factual and does not  
9       violate the First Amendment when required to do so.  
10      So we believe that the statute amply meets the  
11      rational basis standard.

12                 Thank you.

13                 THE COURT: And let me just ask a follow-up  
14      question. It seems to me that the livestream that  
15      you're referencing regarding the Buffalo shooting,  
16      that probably isn't speech in the first place. And  
17      the issue here is if the platforms are not required  
18      to do anything, then I'm not sure what -- I  
19      understand that in the abstract there's a  
20      possibility that something could happen and the  
21      website might take something down. So the harm that  
22      is being sought to prevent is the what? Is the  
23      exposure of other people to the livestream? Because  
24      this statute goes further than just the inciting  
25      violence. This talks about, again, the vilification

1 humiliation, these other things. And certainly that  
2 may have been part of the incitement to violence,  
3 but it seems to me that there are some important  
4 distinctions there.

5 Can I hear from defense counsel on that?

6 MR. FARBER: Yes, Your Honor.

7 Yeah. The Buffalo shooting was obviously a  
8 unique tragedy and we are not suggesting that this  
9 statute will guarantee that events like that never  
10 happen again. But in this case, this was a growing  
11 body of what could be perceived as online hateful  
12 conduct and basically was not, as far as we know,  
13 previously brought to the attention of website  
14 operators that might or might not have taken action  
15 on it. But nonetheless, the channel to bring this  
16 sort of thing to website operators who might choose  
17 to respond, even though the government does not  
18 compel them to suspend a user or remove content, the  
19 websites may choose to do so. In any event, to, in  
20 this case, compel more information available rather  
21 than less is rational. So in this case, the law  
22 doesn't -- there's no way to say that this law would  
23 prevent the next Buffalo shooting, but it allows  
24 complaints to be brought to the attention of  
25 operators, and it allows users to know what's going

1 to happen to those complaints, and those are  
2 rational purposes. And the legislature was careful  
3 here. The legislature was very cognizant of the  
4 First Amendment. That's why we have the savings  
5 provision of paragraph four of the statute. And so  
6 the legislature was concerned with the First  
7 Amendment and wanted to operate within its bounds.  
8 That's why we have the law we have, so it's  
9 rationally based.

10 Thank you, Your Honor.

11 THE COURT: Okay. And also for defense  
12 counsel, you said that this doesn't compel the  
13 plaintiffs to speak, but can you tell me why  
14 requiring the plaintiff to have a policy regarding a  
15 certain type of conduct/speech isn't compelling them  
16 to speak? It may not be compelling them to  
17 necessarily take an affirmative up-or-down position  
18 on that, but it is compelling them to speak about  
19 that and to speak about that conduct and speech as  
20 opposed to any other.

21 Can you tell me about that, defense  
22 counsel?

23 MR. FARBER: Certainly, Your Honor.

24 This again comes back to the Restaurant and  
25 the calorie case, or a case involving disclosure of

1 mercury hazards out of Vermont that we cited in our  
2 brief. There are situations where truthful  
3 commercial speech can be compelled without running  
4 afoul of the First Amendment. We cite them on  
5 pages 7 through 11 of our opposition brief.

6 In this case, we would argue that that's  
7 what the policy falls into. It falls into a  
8 truthful disclosure of fact. The substance of  
9 what's hateful conduct may be very controversial,  
10 but how the website intends to respond to it is not.  
11 That's a binary. That's we will respond, we won't  
12 respond. And then if we will respond, this is what  
13 our response is going to be. So that may well be  
14 compelled speech. But it is -- if it is so, it is  
15 compelled commercial speech of a factual nature that  
16 the case law has permitted. The amount of calories  
17 in a meal is not a viewpoint. A complaint policy is  
18 not a viewpoint. Although even if plaintiffs are  
19 going to argue that it is, it's their policy. It's  
20 not compelling a position at all. It's simply  
21 disclosing what are they going to do to these  
22 reports of hateful conduct brought to their  
23 attention.

24 THE COURT: Okay. And let me ask defense  
25 counsel this question. What is the defendant's

1 position if this case is analyzed under strict  
2 scrutiny? Does the sentence concede that this law  
3 doesn't pass strict scrutiny?

4 MR. FARBER: We will have a very difficult  
5 time, Your Honor, with that.

6 First of all, we did not address that in  
7 our brief, just as plaintiffs did not address  
8 rational basis. I would concede that we would have  
9 a very difficult time with strict scrutiny. We  
10 certainly have a compelling state interest in  
11 minimizing and reducing events like the Buffalo  
12 event and similar acts of hateful conduct, violence,  
13 mass shootings and the like. It is not clear that  
14 this particular statute is narrowly tailored under  
15 those circumstances.

16 So I would answer it that way. I would  
17 answer that we would have a difficult time.  
18 However, I would argue that we never get there  
19 because this is not a content-based statute. This  
20 does not compel speech. This does not prohibit  
21 speech. This does not -- plain and simple, this  
22 does not require these websites to alter their  
23 editorial content or their editorial policy. It  
24 does not require the removal or flagging of anything  
25 that appears on their website.

1 Thank you.

2 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

3 Plaintiffs, let me hear from you as to why  
4 you believe that strict scrutiny is appropriate  
5 here.

6 MR. ORTNER: Sure. Thank you, Your Honor.

7 I think we obviously interpret the statute  
8 more broadly than defendants do. We think our  
9 reading is the best reading of the text of the  
10 statute, and our reading is true that it requires a  
11 direct response to every single complaint that is  
12 lodged. Clearly, that's compelled speech, and under  
13 strict scrutiny. I don't think defendants would  
14 necessarily -- they don't try to disagree with that.  
15 And so I think under our interpretation of the  
16 statute, strict scrutiny applies.

17 But even at, like, the minimum level of the  
18 policy, which requires the posting of -- well, first  
19 of all, the development of a policy if they don't  
20 have one already, which I think is significant, it  
21 requires these websites to actually come up with a  
22 policy to deal with the specific subset of speech if  
23 they don't already have one, and then post it  
24 publicly. That is compelled speech.

25 I would just -- to point out, make the

1 analogy, look at the Zauderer standard and the Big  
2 Mac case about calorie counts. I think two things  
3 to that, Your Honor. First of all, dealing with  
4 hate speech is not like the number of calories in  
5 the Big Mac. Everyone disagrees about what is hate  
6 speech. It's a very case-by-case assessment for a  
7 website operator to decide is this speech acceptable  
8 or not. That discretion is left to the website now  
9 and -- and New York's law requires them to  
10 clearly -- articulate a clear policy about this, so  
11 to actually spell it out what they're going to do.  
12 And so that requires them to take a stance on that  
13 where now they have the ability to be silent.

14 So Zauderer doesn't apply in that regard  
15 because it's not -- uncontroversial factual  
16 information. It's much more similar to the  
17 Entertainment Software Association. It's a case  
18 about video games -- video game makers having to  
19 label -- put a sexually explicit content label on  
20 their games, very similarly casting a value judgment  
21 of sorts about the nature of the speech or the R.J.  
22 Reynolds cases, two of them, involving tobacco  
23 labeling and skull and crossbones or other images on  
24 tobacco labels. Again, it's the fact that -- just  
25 the nature of the label that they're using of

1 hateful conduct is provocative value laden. It's  
2 crafted to evoke an emotional response. It's a  
3 subjective and highly controversial message that  
4 they're forcing plaintiffs to either endorse or  
5 refute through stating something to the contrary in  
6 their policy. So that is very different than  
7 Zauderer.

8 Also, the defendants never argue why the  
9 speech here is commercial speech. For Eugene Volokh  
10 and The Volokh Conspiracy, that website generates  
11 some profit from advertisements. Publishing speech  
12 for profit does not make something automatically  
13 commercial speech. The most obvious case we've  
14 talked about already is the Miami Herald v.  
15 Tornillo case, that involves a newspaper that makes  
16 a profit from the sale of speech and their strict  
17 scrutiny applies. So the fact that someone makes a  
18 profit does not sweep it into the category of  
19 commercial speech. And the speech on Volokh's  
20 website is not commercial speech. It is analysis  
21 about legal and current events. The videos on  
22 Rumble and Locals also are largely focused on news,  
23 entertainment, sports, current events, politics, not  
24 selling a product, not an advertisement for a  
25 product. And so the speech on these platforms is



1 not commercial speech. There's no reason to assume  
2 that commercial speech is the proper framework to  
3 apply here.

4 And finally, even if it is, the Matal v.  
5 Tam case, which we cite to, that was a case  
6 involving trademark law. And so that was a  
7 trademark over the label of the name of the band,  
8 The Slants, which is actually illustrative here  
9 because it shows how hate speech is in the eye of  
10 the beholder. This is a group trying to reclaim the  
11 label of an anti-agent label and it was labeled  
12 hateful by the trademark office, and not -- you  
13 know, trademark wasn't granted because of that. It  
14 shows a little bit of the subjectivity of calling  
15 something hate speech. But in that case, it was  
16 commercial speech standard, but the Supreme Court  
17 still struck that down because it was viewpoint  
18 based. And so the fact that this law is viewpoint  
19 based, targeting a specific subset of expression  
20 only speech that is vilifies or humiliates based on  
21 specific characteristics, that clearly places this  
22 in the realm of strict scrutiny, even if commercial  
23 speech is still -- at least even if it's under  
24 Central Hudson, analyzed very aggressively as the  
25 Court did in the Matal v. Tam case. And so for --

1 all the reasons falls under strict scrutiny.

2 And I would just say one last thing is even  
3 if opposing counsel says that we just concede that  
4 rational basis that we would lose, I would disagree  
5 slightly with that, Your Honor, and to say -- to  
6 point out that we cite cases saying that one of the  
7 state's primary interest, which is getting the  
8 speech off the internet, that's what they turn to  
9 again and again and again in the legislative  
10 debates, in the AG's report, clearly saying we need  
11 the speech removed, protected expression. We cite  
12 to the US v. Eichman case, where it says the  
13 suppression of free expression is not even a  
14 legitimate government interest. And in Hurley they  
15 say it's a decidedly fatal objective to try to  
16 remove protective expression.

17 And so we think that the primary interest  
18 the State is pushing for in everything that they're  
19 saying in their debates in the report is not even a  
20 rational interest. And the State otherwise is just  
21 inconsistent about articulating what their interest  
22 is. And they kind of go back and forth and  
23 articulate a lot of different interests without any  
24 evidence that this is what the legislature was  
25 really thinking about or that there's evidence that

1 the law is needed if a higher standard applies.  
2 There's not evidence -- not sufficient evidence at  
3 all to satisfy any degree of scrutiny other than  
4 rational basis on the level of evidence. They don't  
5 point to evidence that this is necessary, that  
6 existing laws are inadequate. But you need to come  
7 into your -- draft websites into posting policies to  
8 target protect expression. And so the law clearly  
9 fails strict scrutiny.

10 Last thing I'd say on this, Your Honor, is  
11 the requirement to post a policy is a burden on the  
12 website's expressive activity. Eugene Volokh and  
13 The Volokh Conspiracy, Rumble and Locals, we cite to  
14 many statements on their platform about how they are  
15 facilitating free speech. People you mentioned go  
16 to these platforms because they want a place where  
17 free speech is widely tolerated. Volokh is free  
18 minds and free markets. Rumble, their purpose and  
19 mission is to protect free and open Internet and to  
20 create technologies that are immune to cancel  
21 culture. And Locals have similar statements on  
22 their website. And so being required to have a hate  
23 speech or hateful conduct policy on their website  
24 and a place for complaints, but they're going to  
25 facilitate complaints undermines their core First

1 Amendment message of we allow this wide variety of  
2 speech. We don't take speech down based on the  
3 viewpoint, in particular. That's really the key is  
4 they don't take speech based on the viewpoint down.  
5 And this law requires a policy dealing with just a  
6 specific viewpoint of expression. And so it  
7 undermines their First Amendment message just having  
8 it -- having to post it, even if they can respond.  
9 Again, pointing to Miami Herald and Pacific Gas  
10 Companies, that imposes a serious burden on first.

11 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

12 So I don't have any other questions. I'm  
13 ready for a brief, brief oral argument. I'll give  
14 each side seven minutes. You don't have to take a  
15 full seven, but let's have oral argument quickly by  
16 plaintiffs and then followed up by defendants. Go  
17 ahead.

18 MR. ORTNER: Sure. I think we've addressed  
19 a lot of the issues in the case. So I'll just turn  
20 very briefly, Your Honor, to the couple of things we  
21 haven't addressed and mentioned them, which is a  
22 couple of other ways that this law could be  
23 invalidated.

24 I think overbreadth and vagueness haven't  
25 been addressed. And I think overbreadth has really

1     been at the heart of the discussion in this oral  
2     argument, how this law sweeps a broad swath of  
3     potentially offensive but protected speech under its  
4     scope. If the law really was targeting what  
5     happened in the Buffalo shooting, which we say is  
6     horrific and unacceptable, but if that's what it's  
7     trying to do, the law went so far beyond just that  
8     kind of expression. Any speech that vilifies or  
9     humiliates, which as you mentioned already, could be  
10    anything from a comedy sketch to a news report  
11    discussing or to a Tweet that's retweeted to art  
12    show, really anything can be seen as offensive -- as  
13    vilifying or humiliating based on these kind of  
14    characteristics like race and sex that the State has  
15    identified. And so I think that's a real  
16    significant issue with overbreadth. It's requiring  
17    policies to deal with clearly protected expression.  
18    And I think opposing counsel conceded that  
19    effectively that this is vilifying and humiliating.  
20    Speech is protected expression. And so I think that  
21    really shows why there's an enormous overbreadth  
22    problem.

23           And then with vagueness, I would just point  
24    out that these laws like this, they chill not only  
25    the policies of websites, they are going to feel

1 obligated to take speech down, especially if they  
2 have to respond to complaints. They're going to  
3 think, well, I might as well take down speech so I  
4 don't have to respond to all the complaints that are  
5 going to come if I allow controversial speech to  
6 remain on my platform. But it also chills user  
7 speech, because if someone goes to website and  
8 they've thought in the past it's a place for free  
9 expression, and now they see a link in the bottom  
10 saying, see our hateful conduct policy, that creates  
11 a very different environment on the website for  
12 freedom of speech. It shows user expression.  
13 They're going to be more cautious in posting speech  
14 that they presume now the website doesn't want and  
15 the State of New York is targeting and opposing.  
16 And then there is I think it has already come up in  
17 this argument. There are a lot of vague terms that  
18 leave discretion to the Attorney General. The  
19 debate over whether there is a reporting  
20 mechanism -- or sorry, a response requirement at all  
21 is illustrative of that, Your Honor. That it's not  
22 clear whether one is required, the Attorney General  
23 now says it's not required. But if the Attorney  
24 General enacted or someone enacted regulations or  
25 said we are now interpreting this to require it,

1     they certainly could do that under the discretion --  
2     the discretion to read the statute more broadly.  
3     And that creates serious problems, enforcement  
4     problems, especially with the aggressive rhetoric  
5     that we point to in the report. It really creates a  
6     sword of Damocles, hanging over the head of  
7     websites, where they know -- if you turn to the  
8     saying, if you don't take action, there is going to  
9     be consequences. They list several in the report  
10    legislative proposals, but with this law on the  
11    books also, it's another aspect of that where  
12    websites are afraid of investigations, of fines, of  
13    public shaming from the Attorney General. And so I  
14    think it creates an environment of chill when the  
15    law is so -- drafted with so many vague and  
16    arbitrary and unclear terms, and it really fails to  
17    define many of the key terms of the statute, as we,  
18    I think, point out in our briefing. So I think that  
19    creates a serious problem.

20           And then finally, Section 230 also applies  
21    and provides an alternative basis for striking down  
22    the law. It implies anytime a provider exercises a  
23    publisher's editorial function -- we cite a case in  
24    our reply, Jones v. Dirty World Entertainment  
25    Recordings from the Sixth Circuit, which talks about

1     that, and that includes whether to publish,  
2     withdraw, or postpone or alter content. The Second  
3     Circuit has interpreted Section 230 very broadly to  
4     protect editorial discretion of publishers. And  
5     that's what's at stake here. Our websites that are  
6     publishing third party content, having the  
7     discretion to set their own policies, to not have to  
8     articulate them in the way that New York wants them  
9     to do, to not have to take feedback about it the way  
10    the New York -- the State of New York wants them to  
11    take feedback, and to not have to respond to  
12    complaints the way the State of New York demands  
13    that they respond to complaints. All of that  
14    trumps -- supersedes their traditional editorial  
15    functions and compels them to have certain positions  
16    or to have positions and publicly state them and  
17    respond in certain ways to complaints. All of that  
18    violates Section 230. And so that's another  
19    independent reason that New York's law should be  
20    invalidated.

21           And then just finally, I think whatever  
22    strict scrutiny applies, defendants have essentially  
23    conceded the law fails. Even if we think -- even if  
24    Central Hudson or a lower standard applies, New  
25    York's law fails. Again, they have still have the



1     burden under even those lesser standards to prove  
2     the need for the law to show how this law furthers  
3     their interest. And they've really failed to do  
4     that. They undermine their own interests --  
5     asserted interests. You know, if they're right that  
6     the law requires almost nothing from plaintiffs at  
7     all, they can't meet that. And if it requires what  
8     we say it does, then obviously strict scrutiny  
9     applies to it and it fails. And so under either  
10    conception, New York's law cannot survive scrutiny  
11    and has to be invalidated, and we're entitled to  
12    (inaudible).

13           THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

14           Let me hear from defense counsel.

15           MR. FARBER: Thank you, Honor. This is  
16    Seth Farber again.

17           Your Honor, this is a preliminary  
18    injunction motion, and plaintiffs bears the burden  
19    on each of the elements. And in this case, they are  
20    asking the Court to strike down, find  
21    unconstitutionally duly enacted statute. So we  
22    would argue that they bear an even higher burden  
23    than they would in an ordinary PI. But under any  
24    burden, they have failed to meet their burden  
25    because Section 394-CCC simply does not target

1     protected expression based on content or viewpoint.  
2     In this case, the Court should apply a rational  
3     basis test. And contrary to counsel's argument,  
4     rational basis does not require a finding that a  
5     legislature had a specific rational basis in mind  
6     and that this statute brings it forth. Is there a  
7     rational basis for this? Yes. We provide consumer  
8     knowledge as to how websites operate and the State  
9     has a strong interest in taking steps to hopefully  
10    alleviate violence. That's it. We've met rational  
11    basis.

12             In this case, for the Court to grant the  
13    injunction sought, it would have to find that the  
14    statute is a content-based regulation that compels  
15    noncommercial speech. And it clearly is not. As we  
16    indicated in our brief, the statute does not  
17    regulate protected speech law. It applies to  
18    commercial conduct. It facilitates a reporting  
19    mechanism for individual social media users to  
20    report to the website operator. The ability of a  
21    user to report speech is not regulating speech.  
22    This contention of a chilling effect is entirely  
23    speculative. Plaintiffs fail to meet their burden  
24    on that element of the motion. The disclosure of  
25    their policy as to how to respond to reports and

1 nothing else is itself factual and uncontroversial.  
2 They do not have to get into the definition provided  
3 by the State or provided by anybody else on what  
4 constitutes hateful conduct. We are regulating a  
5 commercial business. In this case, they may well be  
6 in the business of putting out protected content of  
7 other people. We are not regulating that protected  
8 content. We are not regulating anything they do  
9 that is an editorial function. We are simply  
10 compelling them to have a reporting mechanism.

11 And I should add that the definition of  
12 hateful conduct found in the statute does not itself  
13 regulate hateful conduct. It is simply a guide to  
14 users to make complaints and to platforms as to how  
15 they respond in their discretion. The statute does  
16 not compel plaintiffs to endorse any State message  
17 or to respond to reports of any kind, including  
18 involving protected speech. The State is not  
19 requiring plaintiffs to state or endorse any  
20 particular message of conduct. The required  
21 disclosure is the constitutional disclosure of  
22 accurate commercial information only. The statute  
23 does not require any particular response or a  
24 response at all, just that the channel for reporting  
25 and responses be facilitated. There is no speech

1       compulsion.

2               With regard to the overbreadth contention.  
3       Because plaintiffs argue that the statute is  
4       unconstitutional as applied to them, we respectfully  
5       submit that the Court should not consider their  
6       facial overbreadth claim, because clearly narrowing  
7       constructions are possible even if plaintiffs want  
8       to rule them out. The statute does not prohibit or  
9       regulate speech. No restriction or removal of any  
10      content is required. To the extent speech is  
11      compelled, it is commercial speech, and overbreadth  
12      fails on this basis because the statute cannot be  
13      found overbroad if the subject is commercial speech  
14      only. Even if the statute reaches some protected  
15      speech or conduct, it is still not overbroad in  
16      relation to its legitimate scope.

17             With respect to vagueness, this statute  
18      clearly affords plaintiffs of notice of conduct they  
19      would be liable for. They have to have a complaint  
20      mechanism, and they have to have a response policy.  
21      That's it. The definitions of hateful conduct  
22      themselves are readily understood and have plain  
23      objective meanings, but those terms are only  
24      provided to define the scope of reports from users.  
25      Adequate notice to plaintiffs is more than

1 adequately spelled out here. The title of the  
2 statute does not override the clear statutory text.  
3 The statute provides sufficiently clear enforcement  
4 standards to eliminate the risk of arbitrary  
5 enforcement or to prohibit conduct that falls within  
6 the core of the statute's prohibition. Enforcement  
7 is not the result of unfettered latitude here.

8 To the extent that plaintiffs argue that  
9 the statute has a chilling effect on the exercise of  
10 First Amendment freedoms, that is nothing more than  
11 speculative in this case. The saving clause is not  
12 vague in its own right. And in any event,  
13 plaintiffs can't use the legislature's efforts to  
14 protect First Amendment freedoms to claim that the  
15 statute violates the First Amendment.

16 Regarding Section 230 preemption. Section  
17 230 immunity applies only when content is created  
18 entirely by third parties. It does not apply to  
19 content the website creates itself, which in this  
20 case would be the complaint mechanism, and their  
21 policy. The statute avoids liability on these users  
22 for content published by third parties. They would  
23 be liable only for their own failure to create a  
24 reporting mechanism.

25 Finally, with regard to Section 4, we

1 respectfully submit that plaintiffs misread  
2 Section 4. What it requires is a mechanism to  
3 report and a mechanism to respond. As Your Honor  
4 indicated, it does not require a specific response  
5 on their part if they choose not to make one.

6 Thank you, Your Honor.

7 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.

8 I do have one other question. I know that  
9 plaintiffs request is that I strike down the entire  
10 statute.

11 Let me just ask counsel this  
12 hypothetically. Would it be permissible for me to  
13 strike sections of the statute, or is this an all or  
14 nothing proposition?

15 Let me hear from plaintiffs counsel, then  
16 I'll hear from defense Counsel.

17 MR. ORTNER: I think, Your Honor, the law  
18 is integrated ultimately. All these sections work  
19 together. Going, for instance, the saving statute  
20 that defendant points to, that saving statute can't  
21 save the law, the plain meaning of which is  
22 regulating and compelling speech. I'm not sure  
23 exactly what Your Honor has in mind of what to  
24 strike down or not to strike down, but the law  
25 ultimately works together and has an effect together

1 on all unburdening protected First Amendment  
2 activity. And so don't believe that just striking  
3 down certain provisions is possible in this case,  
4 given the First Amendment impact of the whole law  
5 that the legislature has enacted altogether in one  
6 package. So we would not support that outcome as  
7 the law justifies it.

8 THE COURT: Okay. Defense counsel?

9 MR. FARBER: Well, I'm not sure which  
10 provisions Your Honor would consider.

11 THE COURT: This is just a hypothetical.  
12 This is just a hypothetical.

13 MR. FARBER: Hypothetically. I mean,  
14 hypothetically, you know, I'm not sure. I will  
15 candidly say I was not expecting that question.

16 I note that plaintiffs, of course, are  
17 asking to strike the entire statute. And I think  
18 I'll go back to where I came in on this, is that the  
19 statute requires a couple of different things. The  
20 statute requires a, you know, reporting mechanism,  
21 that that reporting mechanism contain a response  
22 mechanism, and the statute requires the posting of  
23 the policy. I would argue that those are separate  
24 things. And that, hypothetically, if the Court were  
25 so inclined, it could treat them separately. I note

1       that the statute does not contain a non-severability  
2       proceeding -- I'm sorry -- a provision that says  
3       it's non-severable. That's not necessarily binding  
4       in any event.

5               But in this case, the plaintiffs say that  
6       the statute is content based. It is not. We  
7       don't -- that said, Your Honor, under these  
8       circumstances, we respectfully submit that what you  
9       should do is deny the entire preliminary injunction  
10      motion.

11             Thank you.

12             THE COURT: Okay. Thank you. We are  
13      adjourned.

14             Anything else from plaintiffs' counsel?

15             MR. ORTNER: No, Your Honor. Thank you  
16      very much.

17             THE COURT: Anything else from defense  
18      counsel?

19             MR. FARBER: Thank you, Your Honor. Just a  
20      housekeeping matter. Our response to the complaint  
21      is due in about four days. We will be contacting  
22      plaintiff concerning extending that time.

23             THE COURT: Okay.

24             MR. FARBER: Thank you.

25             THE COURT: Thank you. We are adjourned.



1       Thank you.

2                   MR. FARBER:   Thanks so much.

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C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Marissa Mignano, certify that the foregoing transcript of proceedings in the case of VOLOKH, et al. v. JAMES, Docket #1:22-cv-10195-ALC, was prepared using digital transcription software and is a true and accurate record of the proceedings.

Signature Marissa Mignano

Marissa Mignano

Date: December 21, 2022